

PEACE NEWS

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A hungry May Day in Europe

WHILE MAY DAY CELEBRATIONS HAVE BEEN REPORTED FROM MANY OF THE WORLD CAPITALS THE SPECTRE OF FAMINE AND HUNGER STILL "SITS AT THE TABLE THRICE DAILY IN HUNDREDS OF MILLIONS OF HOMES" AS MR. HERBERT HOOVER PUT IT.

In devastated Berlin huge crowds gathered to listen to the speeches of Labour leaders for the first time in 14 years. About 1,200 Germans fainted from hunger and exhaustion.

In Hamburg Fenner Brockway broadcast to over 60,000 workers.

From Vienna too came news of an impressive demonstration of workers congregating in the heart of the city despite the blazing sun which added to the fatigue caused by lack of food.

In contrast was the procession of soldiers, sailors, airmen and workers which passed through the Red Square in Moscow continuously for nearly seven hours. Marshal Stalin took the salute and scientists from the laboratory of Prof. Peter Kapitza, Russia's leading "atom" expert, took part in the parade.

There were also parades in Paris, where a public holiday was declared. Yugoslavs and Italians demonstrated in the disputed city of Trieste.

In Amsterdam owing to the government decree that no single working day could be spared from the programme of reconstruction there was no public holiday.

UNLESS more food ships are diverted immediately to the famine countries it is feared that by the end of the month Austria and much of Germany will be in a very grave position.

In the British zone of Germany utter chaos is averted only by the daily transfer of supplies of grain from one town to another. To maintain present rations until the harvest will require imports of at least 200,000 tons in May.

Rice crops fail

The latest announcement of the Combined Food Board in Washington says that the widespread rice crop failures have created a desperate situation in the Far East. Only 581,000 tons of rice were available from all sources during April, May and June compared with essential world requirements of 2,000,000 tons.

No allocations of rice have been recommended for the European countries in order that all available supplies may be reserved for those areas where rice is the basic food," the Board states.

Meanwhile, the bonus to encourage US farmers to sell their present wheat stocks is producing a fair tonnage though experts agree that the government will not reach its target of 3,000,000 tons to be delivered by July 1.

After surveying the food situation in 20 different countries, Mr. Hoover still believes that the shortage of 5,000,000 tons in world cereal supplies could almost be made up with the co-operation of the United Kingdom, USA, Canada, Australia, Argentina, Siam and Russia.

Mr. Hoover has said that if his proposals were adopted, the United States would be furnishing to the famine areas about 44 per cent. of the total, Canada about 20 per cent., the United Kingdom about 10 per cent., Australia about 10 per cent., Argentine and others 12 per cent., Russia 12 per cent.

FRANCE MAY TO CIVIL WAR

Unhealthy blocs hinder solution

A MOMENTARY tremor of optimism was caused by the news that Russia had agreed to allow France to participate in the discussion of the peace-treaties. That was the question over which the London Conference came to an end. But the optimism did not last more than 24 hours.

The Russian insistence that Trieste should be incorporated in Yugoslavia was unbending; and opinion reverted to its former gloomy conclusion that the Russian concession to France was merely formal and intended to strengthen the position of the Communist Party in France. It would take from their opponents (for the time being) an effective weapon of criticism: namely, that their Russian masters have inflicted a humiliation on France.

The new paralysis

IN spite of that, the French electorate has rejected the new Constitution. The result is surprising; in particular the rejection of it by Paris. So France is, once more, without a constitution; and in a highly dangerous condition of political instability. At this moment, very understandably, the Government has arrested Col. "Passy," and 50 of his close associates. "Passy" was the notorious head of de Gaulle's incipient Gestapo; and his arrest is plainly to be interpreted as a precaution against a de Gaulle "putsch."

Previous to this news I had been listening attentively to the report of a well-qualified observer who had returned lately from France, and found the responsible people with whom he talked all afraid of imminent civil war. Certainly, it is hard to see any other outcome of the present situation. A combination of Socialists and Communists—in itself unhealthy—apparently will have a small majority of the French people against it. If a combination of MRP and the Right—equally unhealthy—were to form a government, it would be paralysed by strikes.

Observer's Commentary

Religious cleavage

THE once hoped-for solution of a firm combination of the democratic-progressive majority of MRP and the Socialists has proved impossible to realize. That would be the analogue in France of the present Labour Government in Britain, which happily reconciles Socialists of specifically Christian and purely democratic inspiration. But there are two fatal obstacles to such democratic socialist unity in France: one, the deep cleavage between rationalism and Catholicism, and the bitter memories of the prolonged feud between clericals and anti-clericals; and, second, and still more serious, the fact that the Communists are far stronger than they are in England and have achieved effective control of the Trade Union movement. Even a government based on a firm alliance of Christian democrats and democratic socialists might well be brought to the ground by the Trade Unions.

May Day lesson

IF nothing more, the terrible impasse into which France has been carried should be an object lesson to Britain. It shows how vitally important it is that Communist affiliation to the Labour Party should be rejected and, if possible, constitutionally excluded for the future. Britain, at the

HISTORY AND NUREMBERG

GRANTED that the trials are being conducted with the most scrupulous justice; granted further that since the acceptance by the League of Nations of the rule that "aggressive war is a crime against the international community," certain actions not previously regarded as criminal may have become so; granted lastly that the monstrous and demoniac cruelties introduced into warfare by the Nazis must receive some definite world-wide condemnation; nevertheless how can it be just, or to future generations ever seem just, that after a war the victors, because they are victors, should judge the offences of the vanquished, and, merely because they are victors, escape all judgment themselves? Do we claim that no war crimes were committed by any member of the British, American or Russian armies?

I doubt if these trials will produce in history that moral effect which is claimed to be their main justification. A soldier judged and hanged by his enemies is to his own people an object of sympathy rather than horror.

Gilbert Murray in The Times, May 2.

present moment, could give no more inspiring message to Western Europe than precisely this. For the function and purpose of the Communists in Western Europe is, under the name of democracy, to make the working of democratic government impossible. Both Mr. Attlee and Mr. Morrison drove home the fundamental truth in their May-Day speeches. Said Attlee:

"Freedom of conscience is still denied to many. Freedom of speech and freedom of the press are still unknown in most areas of the world. A system of society that denies all these other freedoms is not Socialism, but only a form of collectivism."

That is the system of society which

(CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE)

Russians are "essentially the same as others" — AMERICAN F.O.R. SETS OUT POLICIES FOR PEACE

"The Russian people have suffered tragically. They desperately need peace. It is inconceivable that they will reject an honest offer of peace. We see no reason to assume that the Russian people are a peculiar breed, essentially different from other people."

SUCH is the conclusion of a statement on peace with Russia issued by the Executive of the American Fellowship of Reconciliation. Its cautious hopefulness is backed by a series of proposals put forward to create a new international atmosphere.

These follow a discussion of the problems and errors on the part of both Russia and America; the expansionist policy of Russia and the statement that "the United States itself is practising power politics in building a stockpile of atomic bombs."

"Power politics played by Russia stimulates Anglo-American power politics, and vice versa. They are two sides of the same coin, complementary aspects of the political anarchy and disintegration of our time. Similarly, the theoretical atheism of the Soviet leaders and the practical atheism of so-called Christian countries and their leaders, the pseudo-socialism of Russia and the pseudo-democracy of the Western peoples are two sides of one coin, complementary aspects of the moral and religious disintegration of our era."

The statement proposes:

1. The United States should cease the manufacture of atomic weapons, and share with all peoples the secrets of atomic energy and its development for productive purposes.

2. This country should propose immediate drastic reduction of armament and abolition of conscription by international agreement, looking toward complete abolition of national military establishments in the very near future. This would mean that nations actually would abolish the war system, which is the only possible guarantee that use of the bomb will be abolished. Russia made pro-

posals for disarmament and abolition of conscription in 1927 and again later. It is America's turn to advance this eminently sound proposal—and to make it stick.

3. The present United Nations set-up and old concepts of national sovereignty have been rendered obsolete by the atomic bomb. To establish international control of atomic energy, to abolish conscription and to eliminate national military establishments, mean in effect that nation to surrender a measure of sovereignty in the ordinary sense of that term. Consequently, the UNO should at once convene a world conference to put the above proposals into effect and actually to begin setting up the world government that will be needed in this new era. We cannot live politically in the seventeenth century and scientifically in the fiftieth."

★

These are proposals directly concerning international policy. But the statement goes on to emphasize that "the inadequate and the evil in Soviet ideology" can be fought successfully only by spiritual weapons and if its opponents remove first the beams from their own eyes. It is advocated, therefore:

1. That the government of the United States and its people strive vigorously to show the world an example of a genuine working democracy. This would involve renunciation of practices that limit political democracy, such as the poll-tax; the elimination of racist attitudes and practices; and provision of economic security for all out of the resources with which God has endowed this nation.

2. That the United States should bend every effort to achieve a speedy end to white imperialism in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

3. That this country withdraw support from reactionary, exploiting elements in countries where American troops are located, or where it exerts influence by other means, and that it encourage instead democratic forces in those areas. This would mean abandonment of efforts to impose democracy by foreign occupation, and the speediest possible establishment of peace and world order in which

all nations and peoples may share on a basis of self-respect and co-operation.

4. That the American government and people engage in a great, self-sacrificing effort of immediate relief for the desperately needy of the earth, and work out a large-scale World Reconstruction Programme that would set in motion everywhere the stalled processes of economic life. The United States should back such a programme with sums of money bearing a reasonable relation to the vast amounts spent during the war, which might be raised by "Humanity Loans" or in such other ways as study may suggest. At the same time the government should abandon at once all policies that result in the economic strangulation of conquered peoples, in favour of a policy of rebuilding the world community as a united whole.

5. That having set an example by offering to share with all peoples, we call on all governments to remove the barriers to free entry and exit of reporters, students and visitors in order that the peoples of the world may come to know each other and thus dissipate the suspicions, prejudices and fears that are so largely derived from ignorance."

Absorption

I AM beginning to feel that there is something significant in the fact that immediately after registering the all-time low for contributions to the Peace News Fund, the contributions for three successive fortnights have jumped. Indeed, since April 12 we have received a good deal more than during the whole of the previous three and a half months.

Somehow it connects with the opinion that has been expressed to me in a number of letters that the heart of our movement is at present silent and inarticulate, engaged in absorbing the diverse experiences that have come to it in the last six years. If they are right, I am unfeignedly glad: for my conception of the PPU has always been that it was, or ought to be, an association of "experiencing natures."

I had come to feel that my conception was ideal, and mistaken. Even the possibility that I may, after all, have been right, or not wholly wrong is encouraging. Anyhow, I am deeply grateful to those who have lately given such proof of their loyalty to Peace News.

THE EDITOR.

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FATEFUL CHOICE

THE report of the Commission appointed by the British Council of the Churches to consider the situation created by the atomic bomb, "The Era of Atomic Power" (S.C.M. 2s.), is a document, deserving of careful study, even by those pacifists who hold, simply, that the nation and a fortiori the Churches of the nation, should have nothing to do with the unclean thing. They will at least concede that the Council of the Churches would like nothing better than to have nothing to do with the unclean thing. The trouble is that the unclean thing refuses to have nothing to do with them. It is in the world; it is being multiplied. We may be sure that, within two or three years, Russia will be tolerably well supplied with these instruments of devastation. How can things be contrived so that nobody will let them off?

The Commission, eventually, answers the question in the time-honoured way: "We give it up." And all honest thinkers, in our opinion, will respect them for it. Of course, if all the great nations of the world underwent a moral revolution, there would be no problem. They would have no difficulty whatever in devising a supernatural Institute to supervise and control all atomic research and to prevent nuclear fission being used for any but peaceful purposes. All the nations would eagerly collaborate in founding such an Institution, and the thing would be done in a week. By the end of May the Atomic Institute would have recruited its international personnel, and the nations could set themselves to equally eager, but more arduous, collaboration in establishing a peaceful society of nations.

But the moral revolution in the nations is no nearer—perhaps more remote—than it was fifty years ago: though it is probably true that if Russia were out of the picture, nobody would be seriously disturbed by the possibility of an atomic war. The fact is that the gulf that divides Russia from the rest of the world is greater than any that has divided the nations for centuries. Possibly, in so far as the gulf is purely ideological, it is no greater than that which divided revolutionary France from the rest of the world in 1789. But 29 years after 1789, Napoleon was safely beaten; and in between he had made pretty successful attempts to legitimize his rule. Twenty-nine years after 1917 Russian Communism is more aggressive than it was at the beginning.

The choices are (1) to give way to Russia, (2) to stop her, (3) to come to an agreement with her. Three is obviously the best: unfortunately Russia does not want agreement. She wants to extract every ounce she can get out of the situation. Many dispassionate observers are convinced that she will not desist from her pressure until her influence is established throughout the Continent of Europe to the shores of the Atlantic.

That is the actual context (though they do not set it out so starkly) in which the members of the Commission of the Council of the Churches had to discuss what could be done about the atom-bomb. And we are definitely thankful that they have been so realistic. We cannot call to mind any occasion on which the British Churches have produced so honest a document on the world-situation, or one so free from sentimental Utopianism.

They have set out the facts: the scientific, the moral, the political, the religious facts. They leave the reader to draw his own practical conclusions, if he can.

"Unless our eyes are wide open, we may find ourselves, not by deliberate choice but by the sheer momentum of scientific and technical advance, in a position in which we have to renounce the wholeness of living that is essential to the health of a human society. We may thus, in this country, be confronted with a fateful choice. We may have to make up our minds whether we shall compete in the international race for power and devote every energy to holding our own in that race, or whether we shall regard it as our historical destiny and mission to offer the world an example of a truer and better way of living."

Some of us would say definitely not that this choice may be set before us in the near future, but that it is upon us now.

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"CITIZENS OF THE WORLD"

MEN have claimed to be citizens of the world by virtue of their humanity and freedom from national prejudice; men like Leonardo da Vinci or Shakespeare have been claimed as belonging to the world by nations of which they were not members; men have looked forward to a federation of the world in which all men would be citizens with their proper rights and duties. All these conceptions are related but it is in the sense of the last conception that "world citizenship" will be used here.

World citizenship would soon be organized if there was a widespread belief in the idea of world unity. How then do individuals come to believe in world unity, in the unity of humanity? This question can be answered if we understand how people come to believe in ideals of all sorts and if we study exactly how certain people have come to believe in the ideal of one world. To do this involves a few clear-cut psychological terms, a search among biographies and other writings which enable us to see mental processes at work and direct acquaintance with people who hold the ideal here and now.

Different attitudes

If we had been brought up from babyhood by people of a primitive race we should have reached manhood without many of the ideas which are common to school children in this country. Yet we should have had habits of action and strong beliefs as to what behaviour is proper. Foreign travel or books on primitive peoples, such as Margaret Mead's "Growing up in New Guinea," will enable any intelligent person to realize this. Many of our attitudes to life are imitated from those who looked after us when we were young and are copied without thought or criticism. Indeed it would be prejudicial to our survival at an early age to criticize everything which we are told. If our parents in their ordinary conversa-

What is the psychological background?

tion and behaviour express the idea of world unity we may adopt their point of view and hold it unthinkingly until some event in the world round us forces us in later years to reconsider the idea which we accepted uncritically.

Almost every baby has an instinct for mother-love, expressed in the habit of mutual giving and receiving* so that a strong emo-

by
CHAS. BRUNTON

tional bond is formed which may last through the whole life of mother and infant. The child is gradually introduced by his mother to his father and to others whom he admits into a close emotional relationship with himself and whom he trusts as friends.

Later the good type of school teacher who is likeable stands in the same relation as the parent and has the same power of suggesting to the child a friendly feeling towards people and things. (Conversely the teacher who is disliked alienates the child from his teaching.) For years the child accepts unquestioning the suggestion of those whom he loves. Parents and teachers of literature, history, geography or language can and do mould, consciously or not, our uncriticized attitude to those who have not been born in our home, our street, our town, our country or our island home. The child who learns that he belongs to a superior type is not likely to grow without interruption into a good world citizen whether he is born in Germany or in England.

FROM our childish prejudices some of us never emerge, but some of us apply our reason to criticize our opinions, and at this stage of development we may consider such rational arguments for world unity as have been put forward during this century by H. G. Wells, Bertrand Russell, and many others. They may be summarized in the statements that communications have now made separation of nations impossible, that the prosperity of one-country influences favourably the prosperity of others, that disease and hunger must

*Ian D. Suttie's "Origins of Love and Hate."

LETTERS

Marx and the USSR

I CANNOT see why my old friend Ayana Deva should be so certain that Mr. Alex Comfort has misunderstood Marxism. Indeed in the very quotation he uses against Mr. Comfort there is plainly writ down that the economic relation which men find when they get to work making history "... is nevertheless in the final instance decisive..." In this sense surely Mr. Comfort was essentially correct.

But apart from that, Marx is no longer the master of his own doctrines. Mr. Deva needs no reminder from me that the propaganda line being developed inside the Soviet Union today is nothing if not deterministic. It is relevant to a correct understanding of the power relationships in the world today to realise that; the more certainly since the emphasis upon adult education in the Soviet Union is being switched away from mere "current affairs" and on to "ideological soundness." And the "Short History of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union" is being used as the basic textbook with special attention drawn to the Chapter on Dialectical Materialism penned by Stalin himself. The administrative personnel of the future Soviet Union is being mentally drilled to accept a very high degree of "economic determinism" though Marx may turn in his English grave never so often!

And if that is not enough consider the following which lately appeared in the "Blok-Not Agitators" (Agitators' Notebook) the political-dialectical journal of the Moscow Committee of the Communist Party:

"The Soviet Union is now the mightiest political, military and economic force without which it is impossible to decide important economic questions. This evokes malice in foreign reactionaries. Reactionary circles in the US and Britain and other countries are doing all they can to arrest the inexorable process of historical development."

Undoubtedly this educational drive, which will "set" the Soviet mind for an indefinite period, is the reason why Cmdr. King-Hall sets a seven-year limit for a possible "permanent understanding" between these two philosophies of life."

HOWARD FOX.

"Thornwood," Cross Keys,
Sevenoaks, Kent.

Absolute pacifism

Laurence Housman's article, "The Letter and the Spirit" (PN, April 26), will not convince the man who thinks, notwithstanding his reference to "putting one's nose down to the grindstone of thought."

He declares: "For one can only be an absolute pacifist, if one is an absolute escapist, avoiding any part whatever in the economic structure of modern society." This is pure error, for one can be an absolute Christian pacifist (I stress Christian, for war is not going to be eliminated except through One—Jesus Christ, the Prince of Peace) and still keep within the community, with limitations, if he is prepared to suffer for his beliefs. For a man to absolutely stand out of war, it is only needful to refuse, for Christ's sake, to consent to the National Register, simply because the Register is the sole foundation upon which war can be carried on. This

being so, the refusal to sign it brings the whole edifice crashing to the ground.

The State may take our Income Tax, we may pay tax to it in all directions, the coffers of the National Treasury may be filled to the brim, but without its servants, to whom it can say: "Come," and they come, all the wealth of the State, as regards carrying on war, is but dust and ashes.

CHARLES EDWARD GREGORY.

14 Green Hill, Evesham,
Worcestershire.

Social responsibility

This is a matter of primary importance—it needs reflection on the part of each citizen. Pacifism is not the only ideology the world is in need of, if it be in need of ideologies. Practical application of the Spirit of Altruism to life is the asset which nations need.

We are citizens of the land first and then of the world. When the world is in need of food the duty of each one is to apply himself or herself to fulfilling that need in so far as it be possible. COs are leaving the growing of food for more congenial and better paid jobs. Does not the Miner say to us Pacifists: "You are living in glasshouses; don't throw stones." What is the proportion of Pacifists who have attempted to grow food during the war? Is there not too much shouting and saying nothing, overmuch preaching and lack of concern?

EDWIN H. CLOGG.

Community Fruit Service,
Bleadon, Weston-super-Mare.

Conscience and youth

I attended the PPU AGM for the first time this year, and, as "Youth," would like to reply to some of the speeches made.

Michael Tippet, speaking on conscription, said that the results of a policy which involved conscription fell, not on those people who shape policy, but on 18-year-olds who have no responsibility for it. Patrick Figgis held that it is only relevant for those who are facing conscription now (the 18-year-olds) to renounce war.

In so far as a human being is conscious of the world in which he finds himself, he is responsible; if a man was fully conscious, he would be fully responsible. By the time they are 18, most people are conscious to the extent that they are answerable for their contribution to the life of the community, and their reactions to the impositions of the state. That being so they can face the issue of conscription, and act according to their consciences about it.

It is owing to the weakness of the older generation, that we have to face this infringement of our legitimate freedom, but if we were to be protected too much from the consequences of our elders' errors of judgment—if we did not have to make decisions on what are for us, big issues, at an "early" age—we could not learn to appraise situations and our relations to them quickly enough for us to take our places as adult citizens in a few years' time.

Personally I am absolutely opposed to conscription for no matter what purpose, but I do not wish to be prevented from having to stand out on this, though I do want to be helped to stand firm. We want the sympathy and support of our elders in our attempt to rectify the mistakes they have made; but we must be allowed to choose for ourselves.

JEAN THOMAS.

"Glenomera," Tadworth Street,
Tadworth, Surrey.

be prevented on an international scale and that the needs of the ordinary man in every country can be best satisfied by some type of world federation. These arguments have been reinforced by recent advances in the control of atomic energy.

Beside those who passively accept on uncriticized or on rational grounds the idea of world unity, there are others who expend time and energy in disinterested work for the acceptance of international law, international understanding and international friendships. In such people the idea of world unity has become what Professor William McDougall called a "sentiment"—an idea linked with strong emotions and consciously accepted. It is the emotions which stir us to action, which give life and movement to the visionary idea. An example of a sentiment is patriotism or love of country. In it the idea of our country is linked with her personification as a beautiful woman, with the emotion of chivalry and the desire to serve, with joy in her prosperity, fear in her danger, love of her friends and anger towards her enemies.

In patriotism the sentiment of the family has been widened to embrace a wider group, and national patriotism in turn may be extended to world patriotism. Certain specific steps have been suggested with this end in view (R. West: "Psychology and world order"). World patriotism may be developed or blighted by education, travel or experience. We are apt to argue from the particular to the general and to judge a nation from the few members of it whom we have met, from impressions gained during a short visit or from reading a few books which are not always impartial.

Compensation

IN a few cases our belief in world patriotism has not developed from a healthy and happy family feeling but has sprung from a violent dislike of authority—of a parent, a teacher and finally of the government of our country. As we have never felt the authority of a world state or federation we can contemplate with joy its control over the national group and can compensate for our dislike of our surroundings by our admiration of distant fields. Probably we shall not make very cooperative colleagues in our organization for world reformation, however good our ideas may be on paper.

Though war leaders have appealed successfully to sincerely religious people, yet some among the followers of the great religious leaders have always held that their religion involved world brotherhood. In proportion to their sense of obligation and their powers such men and women have devoted their lives to serve mankind as friends and brothers or sisters.

The application of all this to education and especially to the education of the governing class in each country; the desirability of preparing the governing class for their work by some course of mental analysis; the need for UNESCO to stimulate the production of good school books, cinema films and travel exchanges—are a few of the subjects which should be carefully but enthusiastically examined.

Here we have only been able to sketch some ways in which an active belief in the idea of world citizenship may be born. Its importance in the life of the individual will depend on its degree of development intellectually and emotionally, on its strength relative to other beliefs which the individual has adopted and on the relative strength in the individual of his beliefs and his unconsidered impulses.

**The life of Dr. Albert Schweitzer may be studied as an example of such people. It is well documented in his books: "Memories of childhood and youth," "My life and thought." Professor O. Kraus's book on Schweitzer's psychology and many other books and articles. It is to be hoped that other prominent advocates of international union will undergo the discipline of at least partial psychological analysis.

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"IMMEDIATE ISSUES" DRAFT STATEMENT DISCUSSED

The discussion on Immediate Issues was for the guidance of Council and no decision was taken, as was the case in the recommendation to re-affirm the pledge as the sole basis of membership.

H. Runham Brown was re-elected a Sponsor and Clare Sheridan added. Both have since accepted.

Corder Catchpool and Maud Rowntree were re-elected unopposed as joint hon. treasurers.

WINIFRED RAWLINS introduced the discussion on the draft statement submitted by the Immediate Issues Committee on behalf of National Council. The Chairman, pointed out that this had not yet been fully discussed by the National Council and was placed before AGM to promote a good discussion in order to assist in drawing up a final statement.

(Owing to lack of time discussion on the other draft statement on policy submitted by the International Industrial and Social Order Committee had to be ruled out.)

The statement before the AGM was as given in PN, April 19.

"This statement represents my belief," said Winifred Rawlins, "that only a revolutionary change in man's thinking and an entirely new spirit is adequate to the situation. At a moment of history when the abandonment of violence was most relevant to the world the pacifist movement seemed to lack the conviction that it had an unparalleled opportunity for leadership. 'I am not conscious of a dilemma; but I am conscious of my own weakness.' She would not dare to prophesy whether we can stem the tide of events."

Pamela Coates (Central London) referred to a proposal made at the WRI London Conference. This called for some form of world government and for the preparation of a simple declaration of international citizenship.

Sybil Morrison confined herself particularly to the last part of the statement which related to the "creation of a public opinion." In advocating poster parades and public meetings she maintained that "you will only create a public opinion if you go out and get it."

Donald Port insisted that we must join in the fish queue and stand in the public house if we want to convince the ordinary people.

A. Ellison (Ilford) wanted to know what "this living our pacifism" really meant. "I know what I mean when I say I am against armed forces and war but it is no prerogative of the pacifist to live decently among the rest of the people."

Summing up the discussion Dennis Davis said that he liked to have some idea of what he was going to say to the public before saying it, and there had not been sufficient discussion on the subject to give speakers a clear message. He cited the two contrasting views with regard to UNO—those who believed that it was working on the wrong lines and would therefore fail and those who maintained that it was "the last best thing."

"We must be more clear in our minds," he continued, "before we are morally entitled to go out to the public and explain our policy concerning collective security."

They could begin by condemning outright the old practices and conceptions of power politics which are certainly inadequate. They must insist on a much wider vision on the part of statesmen. The only kind of security is that to be found in a society based upon the right values.

STANDING ORDERS COMMITTEE.—Frank Dawtry, Bill Roberts, Lilla Tansley and Bernard Taylor were reappointed with the addition of Audrey Jupp.

AGM STATISTICS

The total of valid votes cast in the election PPU National Council was 2,597. Those cast in the election of Chairman amounted to 2,326.

Of the total attendance, delegates accounted for 284. Over 750 individual tickets were issued.

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MEETINGS, &c.

CARDIFF, F.M.H., Tues., 8 p.m. sharp, May 14, "Boring for Oil in Britain"; May 21, "Factory Inspecting"; May 28, "Work at Rowntree's, York"; June 4, "Social Study and Training." Miss Jukes, M.A., Tutor in Social Study, University College, Cardiff.

LONDON, W.C.2, Kingsway Hall, Fri., May 17, 1.15 p.m. "Germany and the Future of Europe." Sir Walter T. Layton. Lunch-hour mtgs. Programme. National Peace Council, 144 Southampton Row, W.C.1.

"**EDUCATION** in World Citizenship." We are prepared to send upkrs. to address pacifist, internationalist, political, and other groups, on various aspects of the above subject without charge. Organizing Sec., Service-Nation Movement, 20 Buckingham St., W.C.2.

ACCOMMODATION

HOUSE, FLAT, premises urgently reqd. by Chiropodist. London. Anywhere. Box 382.

Greetings from Dortmund

In addition to general greetings from WRI sections on the Continent, conveyed by Runham Brown and Harold Bing, the PPU AGM was read a particular letter from our colleagues in Dortmund, excerpts from which are given below:

THE Dortmund Group of the German Pacifist Society, at its meeting today, heard with great interest and enthusiasm the discourse of your member, our English pacifist friend, Mr. Kneller, and sends you hearty greetings of friendship and alliance.

For 13 years our Peace work was suppressed by the Hitler dictatorship. Many of our members had to pay for their views with their lives, or were condemned to concentration camps or prisons. Others were deprived of their livelihood or confronted with great obstacles in their struggle to live. Yet in spite of all this opposition and persecution, most of the survivors remained true to their convictions and ideals.

IMMEDIATELY after the liberation by the Allies, the reconstruction of the Peace Movement began in this area. But this cannot yet develop unhindered and unrestricted. The strict decrees and regulations of the Military Government for the establishment of peace and order, for an organised democratic administration, often makes our work harder also. . . . Please assure your members that there is still "Another Germany," peace-loving and reconciliatory, and that this "Other Germany" is alive again today.

MAY God bless and prosper your work for the good of all mankind. Greetings to the English friends who have worked in Germany.

WILHELM DORPER.

April 14, 1946.

REST OF THE NEW COUNCIL

AREA REPRESENTATIVES 1946

IRELAND—Tom Finnegan.

SCOTLAND—Campbell Wilkie; Allistair Steven.

LAKE DISTRICT—John Burnett. N. EASTERN—David Hughes.

WESTERN—Bill Roberts.

YORKSHIRE—Geoffrey Tattersall.

WALES—D. R. Thomas; Gwynn Pritchard.

WEST MIDLAND—Ronald Hand.

EAST MIDLAND—Vernon Cutting.

EAST ANGLIA—Frank Sayer.

SOUTH MIDLAND—Arthur Bayntun.

WESTERN—Tom Wolfe.

BUCKS, BERKS & OXON—Dennis Davis.

LONDON—Sebastian Saldanha.

CORNWALL & DEVON—Walter Hillman.

SOUTHERN—C. W. Hope Gill.

S. EASTERN—Philip Millwood.

Plays - Pamphlets - Concerts

Hamlet without tears

I WENT to see the North London Players' in Hamlet (producer: Roy Walker) with as open a mind as is possible for one who has, over sixteen years, seen every Hamlet of importance (and some of none); but a little prejudiced in its favour because any amateur company taking on this play deserves our thanks. Alas, desire outran performance. The producer was handicapped by a cast who, with few exceptions, could not speak blank verse, and by being unable at any time to fill his stage. The play was slow and too even in its slowness.

Had all the players had the same feeling and vigour that Mr. Walker showed as the Player King, this would have been a significant production. When he appeared, the play, which had been a series of rather dreary recitations, suddenly sprang to life.

Prince out of his star

Leslie Pitt as Hamlet gave me the interesting task of seeing whether he could finish a phrase without losing the last word—he could not—but little else. This Hamlet did not grow at all and I found myself saying, with Polonius: "Lord Hamlet is a Prince out of thy star." Many of the wonderful lines were gabbled and in the soliloquies Mr. Pitt was more concerned with his own voice than with Hamlet's soul. Yet he failed the great music. Nor did he give us the suffering; this was Hamlet without tears.

The tragedy of Ophelia is to see innocence blasted: Janet Parish could not convey the innocence and did not keep the promise of her opening. She made a bold try for the Mad scene, but forgot to look vacant, and made parts of it comical instead of tragic. She suddenly gathered strength in her last moments, and I think she could one day be a good Ophelia.

For the rest: Geoffrey Hallett was a sound and intelligent Polonius. Horatio (Joseph Agassi) was inadequate and seemed always on the verge of tears. Martin Hamlyn gave an excellent trio of performances and showed a feeling for the verse. Gertrude (Janet Walker) was often very good and never less than very fair and earned my gratitude for a fine economy of gesture. Geoffrey Pittcock-Buss was like the girl who had a little curl. He needs to be less sinister—he should "smile and smile and be a villain"—must walk better and treat "you" and "your" with more respect.

The whole was just good enough to make me regret that the Players' next choice is "Private Lives" and to groan, with Hamlet, "Look here upon this picture—and on this."

ROGER PAGE.

Seven Pillars of Peace

Chaos or Crusade? by George E. Hartley: Northern Friends' Peace Board, York. 3d.

This pamphlet urges the efficacy of international friendship as a prevention of War, and names seven—amongst many—existing organizations devoted to this most excellent object. Anything that the Friends say about Peace and War commands respect, but they may expect demur at the inclusion of the Co-operative movement in their list.

The idea of a Foreign Office Department to foster friendship (we already have a Cultural Relations section) is also dubious, for really, friendship organized by a department has disagreeable aspects. When the harvest of the people's spontaneous goodwill is ripe, the legislature can be instructed to gather in. Excellent ideas are: Britain's giving the lead in the abolition of Passports and conscription; and "personal contact" with other Peoples.

J. W. R.

Broadening the Field

Pacifism as a Policy, by Francis E. Pollard. CBCO. 6d.

TWO distinct questions were raised in the part of Prof. Fields "Pacifism and Conscientious Objection" which this second CBCO pamphlet discusses. There is first the question of whether pacifism can be offered as a practical policy; second, the question of how the individual pacifist should behave once declaration of war puts it, as a national policy, off the map.

Prof. Field's discussion of the first question was inadequate and, in a sense, irrelevant, because to consider some of the men who have advocated a pacifist policy, should be sufficient testimony that it is not intellectually or morally beneath contempt, however unconvincing to the tribunal members themselves. But the second question is central to the tribunal's attitude.

To advocate one policy does not always debar one from conceding one's help to another policy which has been preferred to it. If that were not the case honest compromise would always be impossible. It is not enough for the CO to say he believes a pacifist policy would be best, and therefore can have no dealings with any alternative. But it may be enough to say that one's own policy, though in details tentative, is based upon an essential moral judgment which the alternative policy utterly denies.

This is the moral answer, and the one which probably a majority of pacifists would, more or less, clearly make. It is also the only one which Mr. Pollard considers, although there certainly are other answers to make.

One is the call of present duty, whether to propaganda or personal service. The public witness and acceptance of penalty may be a part of this. Another is based on the judgment of truth. The policy we are offered, we may say, is simply false. Even if it is militarily successful, it will not turn out to be, as a whole, that for which our aid was solicited. That policy—the level-headed, generous-hearted, self-disinterested re-establishment of decency—is as much a mirage as the pacifist policy that has never been tried. Which is why, at the end of war, the noble pacifist feels irrelevant while the noble militarist is disillusioned.

A. C. S.

Dorothy Evans Concert

PACIFISTS and others at the Conway Hall last Sunday not only had a rare musical treat, but took part in a unique event. The Memorial Committee had gathered together a remarkable symposium of musical talent for the occasion of Dorothy Evans' birthday.

Michael Tippett introduced his new Cantata "Boyhood's End," based on an excerpt from Hudson's autobiography. After a brief speech on its provenances, he read the passage to the audience before it was performed by Benjamin Brittain and Peter Pears, with a virtuosity that was tumultuously applauded by an audience that had listened with mounting excitement.

Benjamin Brittain and Peter Pears also gave a series of Elizabethan and other songs, and the piano solos were contributed by Mewton Wood, who accorded a Beethoven Sonata and Schumann's "Fantasia," the required power and variety.

Dame Sybil Thorndike spoke some Walt Whitman, followed by a group of Gerard Manley Hopkins' poems in her balanced yet passionately sincere manner.

Lyndal Evans thanked the performers, who had freely given their services in her mother's honour. From the spring flowers on the platform, eagerly bought by the audience in memory of an unusual occasion, to Sybil Morrison's eloquent appeal for funds to provide a fitting memorial to Dorothy Evans, the afternoon was complete.

P. V.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

C.O., WIFE, baby, urgently required. flat or other acmdtn., preferably unfurn., within reach of Cen. London. Box 383.

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PEACE NEWS Economy Labels (for re-using envelopes, etc.) available again. Good propaganda. 1s. 9d. 100 (postage 2d. extra). 1,000 lots less 25% dis. Order from Peace News, Ltd., 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4, or your P.N. distributor.

WAR RESISTERS' International wd. welcome gifts of foreign stamps for subsequent sale on behalf of W.R.I. funds. Any such gift received with gratitude. Pl. send to the War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Rd., Enfield.

LITERATURE, &c.

A BOOK for discussion—"Man the Madman." 2s. 3d. BM/JONIB, London, W.C.1.

UNITARIAN PUBLICATIONS. "Unitarian Ideals and Realities." W. Lawrence Schroeder, M.A. This and other publications sent on receipt of stamp; also information on Unitarianism. Apply by letter to Rev. Helen L. Phillips, 14 Gordon Square, London, W.C.1.

"THE AMERICAN Vegetarian." This amazing monthly publication should be read by all pacifists. Specimen copy 8d. Annual sub. 7s. 6d. Maurice Keighley, Rooley House, Westwood Lane, Leeds, 6.

PERSONAL

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SITUATIONS VACANT

We cannot confirm satisfactory conditions of employment in all posts advertised. Applications in doubt are recommended to consult the Central Board for C.O.s, 6 Endeavour St., W.C.1, which will often be able to give useful advice.

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Labour can give Europe a lead

'OBSERVER' CONTINUED

the Communists laud and propagate. A Socialist party which (like the Socialist party of France) enters into alliance with them is thereby betraying democracy.

Social-democratic burden

MR. MORRISON was equally forthright.

"We see some movements which had played a worthy part in the fight for freedom tending to pursue courses from nationalistic, sectional or selfish motives not consistent with the ideals of liberty and progress for which enlightened people supported the war."

"In these circumstances a heavy burden of responsibility falls to the Socialist and Social Democratic parties who seek social and economic progress combined, as we are combining it in Britain, with the maintenance of the high principles of freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and the free and successful working of democratic parliamentary and local government institutions."

"We did not fight this war against single-party dictatorship in Germany in order to do our best to imitate it at the end of hostilities."

But it would be well, in these troubled and precarious days, to be even more explicit—to say clearly what the Labour leaders take for granted: that the attainment of social justice by violent revolution in a democracy is a chimera, and that the preservation of the peaceful processes of democratic government is far more important for the happiness of man than economic justice itself.

Attainable objectives

IN this world of utter insecurity, it is best to aim at attainable objectives: and one of the most important of these is to prevent the undermining of our native democracy by the Communists. The more decisively and spectacularly this can be done, the more encouragement will it give to the disheartened democrats of the Continent. Certainly such repudiation needs to be reinforced by determined support of democratic socialism on those parts of the Continent where we have real influence.

As the example of France clearly shows it is not enough simply to encourage (as Mr. Cole and others now advocate) the Social Democrats.

What British policy needs to encourage is an alliance between the Social Democrats and the progressive Catholic parties. That is what would have taken place if the Russians had played the game and abstained from the forcible conversion of democracy into its opposite—one-party government. Continental Socialists by themselves are not the equivalent of the British Labour Party.

Light for Europe

THE peculiar and fortunate characteristic of the British Labour Party is that it has absorbed and is animated by much of the diffused Christianity that distinguishes the British body politic. That there has been no such diffusion of Christianity through the political society has been the tragedy of the Continent. But there is a chance of achieving it now by political understanding between Christian progressives and democratic Socialists, such as is taking place in Holland.

It is the more important that the British Labour movement should give this incipient movement on the Continent an ideological lead. Ideology is not the strong point of British Labour; it has been content to act, in the main, by instinct, and has the typical British mistrust of abstract logic. But now it must pass to the ideological offensive. In order to do that it needs to proclaim the essentially ethical quality of its inspiration and its policy, to distinguish its own creed fearlessly from the pure materialism of the Communists and to repudiate the whole ideology of the class-war, as clearly as it repudiates it by its actual behaviour.

The clamant need of Western Europe is for the reinvigoration of politics by morality. That, in the last analysis, is what the victory of the Labour Government in Britain represents. The opposition—leaving aside the scurrilities of the Beaverbrook Press—have their share in that reinvigoration, by reason of the friendly way they have accepted the Labour victory. Britain must no longer hide its light under a bushel. It must set it on a candlestick to give Europe the illumination it needs.

John Maynard Keynes

I MAKE no claim to have really known Maynard Keynes; but at one time—from 1917 to 1921—I met him fairly often. Though I have no doubt that the references to his "unequalled capacity for rudeness" have justification, I must say that I never beheld it at work: in my encounters with him his urbanity was as notable as his mordancy.

I was one of a group who rented from him the house he had in Gower St. before he moved to Gordon Square. My share of it was a room with a large picture by Duncan Grant over the mantelpiece. We also acquired his housekeeper, who frequently set before us baked bananas on the ground that Mr. Keynes was very fond of them. It is one of "the odd tricks that memory plays" that the name Maynard Keynes stands equally in my mind for "The New Economics" and baked bananas.

Another odd and irrelevant picture that sticks is of a breakfast with him in Kings, Cambridge—I suppose in 1920. He explained that he had to go out immediately after breakfast to lecture but that he was waiting for some boots. It struck me as a little odd, but I refrained from question. After some impatient minutes a package arrived with a brand-new pair of handmade boots, complete with trees. My picture is of Keynes's curious and exacting struggle to get into them. No new pair of hunting boots ever made greater demands upon their wearer. I could not believe that they would be comfortable. But I saw no signs of limping as he walked away.

PN BY ANY OTHER NAME

By the recommendation of the AGM groups are invited to consider and give their views on the proposal to change the name of Peace News, to something more forward-looking and with a less restricted appeal. A name tentatively proposed, which has the approval of PN staff, is "The New World."

Groups, and individuals, would help by answering the following questions:

- (1) Is a change of name desirable?
- (2) If so, do you approve of "The New World"?
- (3) Have you any other suggestion?

Answers to these questions should reach the Secretary of the PPU, 6 Endsleigh St., by first post on Monday, June 3.

* What 'FOODGRAINS' mean in INDIA *

RICE OR RAGI . . . FLOUR USELESS

Here the word, the vital word, is "food-grains." For a long time I thought it was a pedantic word for rice, until I found just how many things it included, and how much it meant.

These food-grains are: rice, ragi, jola, wheat, haraka, navano, save, sajje. Apart from rice and wheat, these are seeds which in England you never see, except perhaps in a parrot's tray. Nevertheless, they are what people live on here, especially ragi.

We call it, I think, black millet. When it runs out people die. It is vain and useless to suggest they eat something else; they could not digest it even if they could afford it.

—James Cameron, in the Daily Express.

A major misfortune threatens India as famine approaches. Instead of the promised wheat, Americans propose to ship 100,000 tons of white flour. This is totally useless since the Indians do not eat bread, cannot make it, and could not digest it. On the other hand, they do use wheat in other forms.

The cargo will arrive during the monsoon period when the rain is certain to ruin the flour, whereas wheat could be dried by the sun. The only rational course is to send the flour to Europe in exchange for the wheat stored or allotted there.

Unless this mistake is corrected instantly a grave crisis threatens all rationing schemes during the months when the emergency is most severe.

—H. N. Brailsford, in Reynolds News.

C.O.s AND EMPLOYERS

NOW that the early groups of COs are being released under the new Act, the Employment Section of the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors (6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.) asks for the co-operation of employers.

Many COs seem to have jobs to go back to or a very clear idea of what they want to do and how to go about doing it. There are, however, some who seek re-settlement in jobs which will offer a reasonable measure of security, and have, as yet, nothing in view.

Until now the employment work of the Board has been mainly concerned with special wartime service and it has not been practicable to offer to help employers with many other types of vacancy as there have not been the men free to fill them. The Board still cannot undertake to solve all the labour problems of employers who apply.

What is hoped, however, is that employers will make available to the Board, or any convenient part of its regional organization, offers of employment which can be passed on to COs in suitable cases.

It is not suggested that only the Board should be notified but that employers should let the Board know of vacancies at the same time as they inform their usual staff-finding channels.

SWISS

FAMILY WILKINSON

OPENING an exhibition of "Books of Switzerland" at the Suffolk Galleries last week (until May 25) Miss Ellen Wilkinson, Minister of Education said that her department had succeeded in placing a number of young Swiss teachers in English schools. "They are extremely popular with the children and with their colleagues, and it is my hope that exchanges between teachers and pupils will extend rapidly."

She expressed gratitude to Switzerland for receiving 200 delicate children from this country who are to spend six months as guests of the Swiss Red Cross at Adelboden, some 5,000 feet high in the Bernese Oberland. "The children went off this morning just as if they were going to heaven," she added.

Miss Wilkinson also announced that a parallel exhibition of British books will be given in Switzerland this summer, under the same auspices of the British Council. "In spite of the competition of radio and the film, books are still the best medium of communication both in transmitting ideas and in promoting understanding," the Minister commented.

NEWS IN BRIEF

Christian Party candidate

Elsie Yates has been nominated by the Christian Party for a vacancy on the Hackney Borough Council, London. In the November election, Labour councillors were returned. For this vacancy four parties have candidates.

Offers of help may be made by post or in person any evening until polling day, May 16, at 28 De Beauvoir Square, N.1 (near Dalston Junction).

Eric King's exhibition

Eric King, a Potters Bar CO still working on the land, has an exhibition of wood engravings and water-colours now showing at the Batsford Gallery, 15 North Audley Street, W.1, until May 22. The show is well worth a visit.

No. 26 coming out

Conditionally registered COs in release group 26 are expected to be released from their Tribunal conditions in mid-May, the CBCO understands.

Alex Wood's PN pamphlet

The next pamphlet in the Peace News series is entitled "The Deeper Challenge of the Atom Bomb," by Dr. Alex Wood, and will be published next week. For those who do not already receive PN pamphlets with the paper the price remains at 1d. plus postage.

COBSRA TOPS THE TARGET

THE original target figure of £100,000 has now been passed in response to the Food Relief Appeal which was launched by COBSRA last Christmas.

Although that was the sum believed needed to purchase surplus foodstuffs then available under an arrangement with the Ministry of Food, it has not yet been decided to close the fund.

It is understood that there is still no shortage of food which might be sent but the question of transport remains difficult. To overcome this the services of commercial shipping lines may be used so that supplies reach Europe more quickly. This will entail increased charges for the handling of goods but the more important consideration is to meet the rapidly pressing needs of infants, the sick and the aged.

CIVIL LIBERTIES AGAIN

THE question of banning fascist activities and organizations in this country was discussed again at the recent AGM of the National Council for Civil Liberties.

A resolution on behalf of the NCCL Executive called on the government to prohibit bodies propagating fascist doctrines in general and racial hatred in particular.

Bruce Campbell, of the St. Albans PPU, spoke in opposition. He maintained that it was impossible to define Fascism, and in consequence any organization might be declared by a Home Secretary to be "Fascist" and therefore illegal. If, as the resolution suggested, people could be so misled that it was necessary to save them by legislation, then the case for liberty was gone.

The resolution was finally carried.

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Book the dates!

May 25 and 26—Week-end Conference at JORDANS, Bucks. by (1) U.N.O.; (2) War-resistance; (3) Active Pacifism; (4) Building a new international Social Order.

Subject:

WHAT CHANCE OF PEACE?

Speakers will include: Dr. A. K. Jameson, F. A. Ridley and F. L. Whelen. Programme in preparation. Apply to Russell Everett, Corner Cottage, Jordans. Organized by Amersham Regional Council of P.P.U.

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